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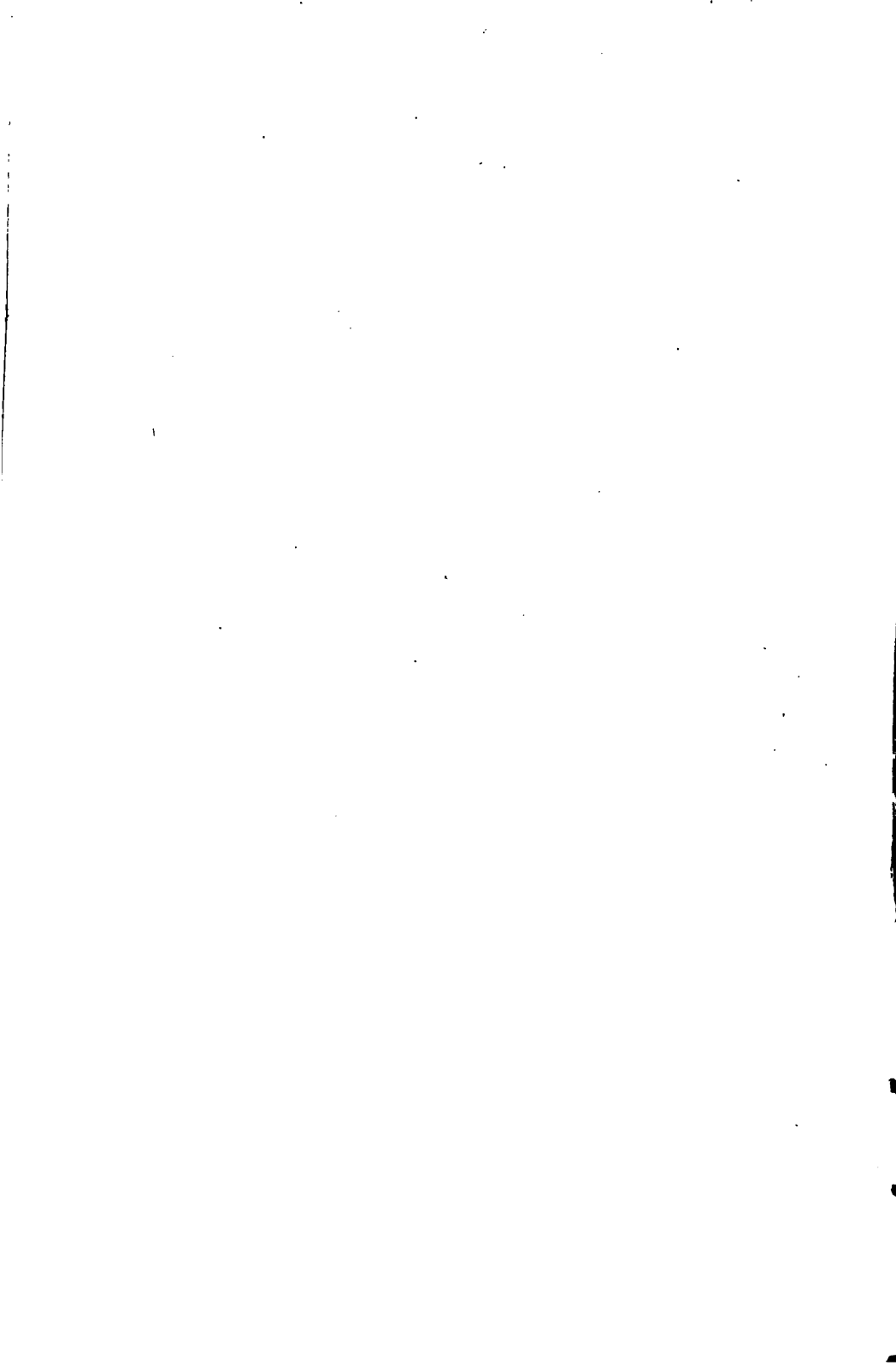


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**THE LIFE OF**  
**WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE**  
**EXPURGATED**







THE ORIGINAL MONUMENT AT STRATFORD  
(From Sir Wm. Dugdale's "History of the Antiquities of Warwickshire")

THE LIFE OF  
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE  
EXPURGATED

BY

WILLIAM LEAVITT STODDARD  
(M.A., HARVARD)

*"Non canimus surdis."*

BOSTON  
W. A. BUTTERFIELD  
59 BROMFIELD STREET  
1910

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By WILLIAM LEAVITT STODDARD

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## PROLOGUE

*"It seems a kind of respect due to the memory of excellent men, especially of those whom their wit and learning have made famous, to deliver some account of themselves, as well as of their works, to posterity. For this reason, how fond do we see some people of the great men of antiquity; their families, the common accidents of their lives, and even their shape, make, and features have been the subject of critical enquiries. How trifling soever this curiosity may seem to be, it is certainly very natural; and we are hardly satisfied with an account of any remarkable person till we have heard him described to the very clothes he wears. As for what relates to men of letters, the knowledge of an author may sometimes conduce to the better understanding of his book, and though the works of Mr. Shakespeare may seem to many not to want a comment, yet I fancy some little account of the man himself may not be thought improper."*—From Nicholas Rowe's Account of the Life of Shakespeare, 1709.

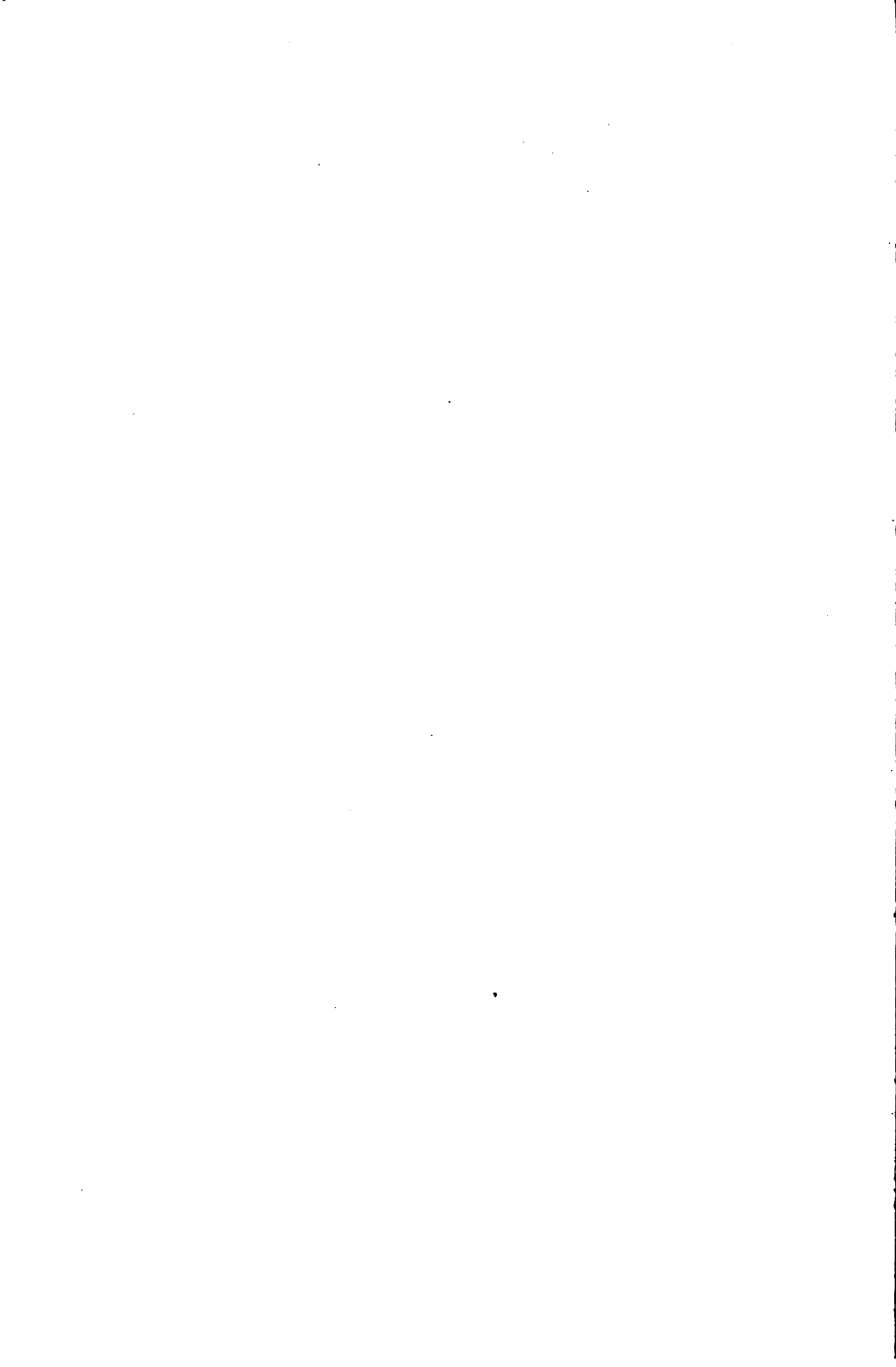
*"I have not sought, (I say) nor do I seek either to force or ensnare men's judgments, but I lead them to things themselves and the concordances of things, that they may see for themselves what they have, what they can dispute, what they can add and contribute to the common stock. And for myself, if in anything I have been either too*

*credulous or too little awake and attentive, or if I have fallen off by the way and left the inquiry incomplete, nevertheless I so present these things naked and open, that my errors can be marked and set aside before the mass of knowledge be further infected by them."*—From Francis Bacon's Preface to the Great Instauration (Spedding's translation).

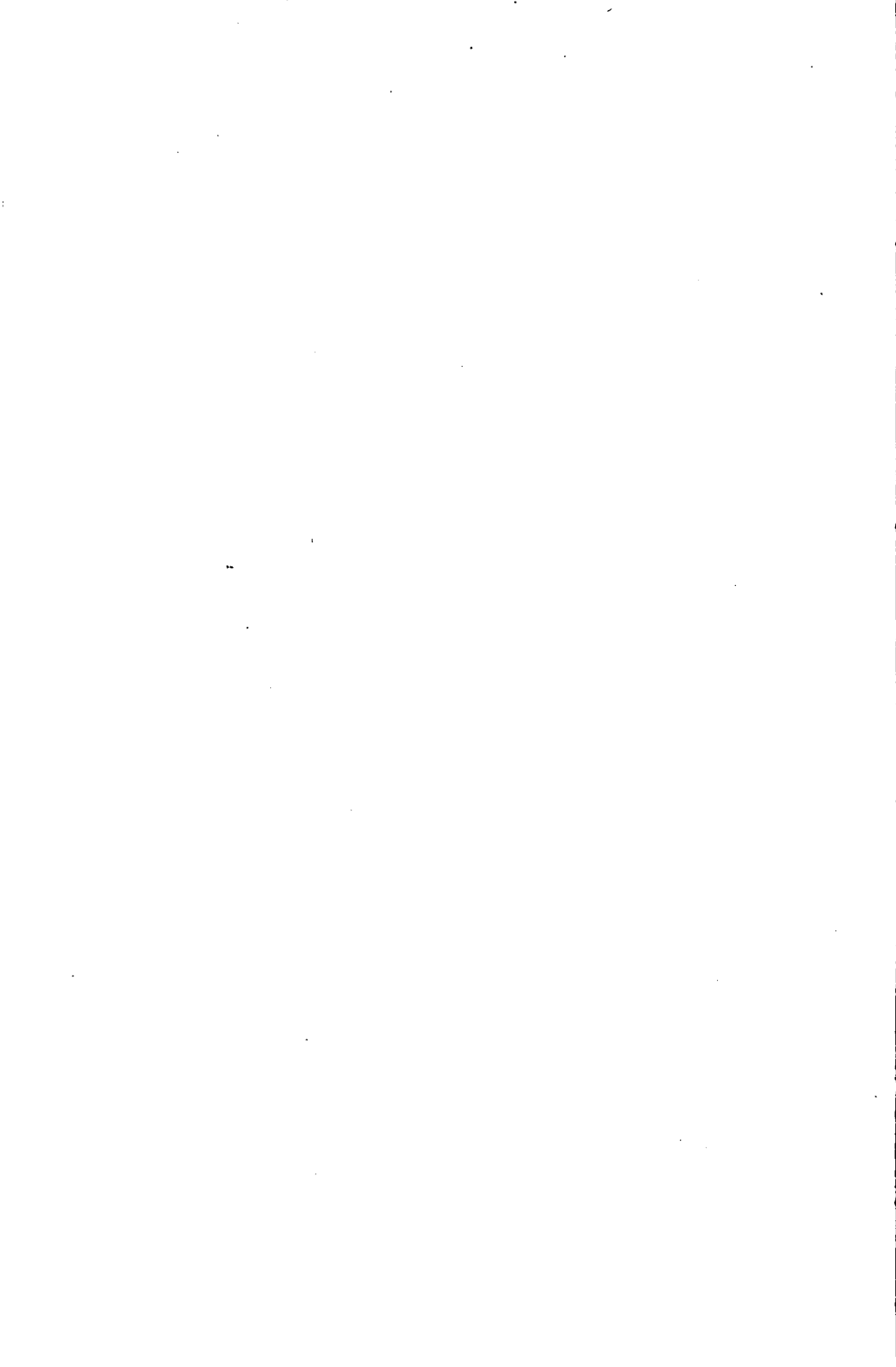


## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PROLOGUE . . . . .	iii
CONCERNING OTHER "LIVES OF SHAKESPEARE" . . . . .	1
JOHN SHAKESPEARE IN THE RECORDS . . . .	12
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE IN THE RECORDS . .	14
SHAKESPEARE'S WILL . . . . .	23
POEMS ASCRIBED TO SHAKESPEARE OF STRATFORD . . . . .	29
CONTEMPORARY ALLUSIONS, REAL AND SUPPOSED, TO WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE . . . .	33
EVIDENCES FROM THE PLAYS AND POEMS . .	57
THE FIRST FOLIO . . . . .	62
EPILOGUE . . . . .	67
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	69
INDEX . . . . .	75



**THE LIFE OF**  
**WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE**  
**EXPURGATED**



## CHAPTER ONE.

### CONCERNING OTHER "LIVES OF SHAKESPEARE."

Like most men of my generation, I have never been able from any one volume to obtain a clear idea of Shakespeare:\* with the works bearing that name I could and did become reasonably familiar and greatly pleased, but of the man who wrote them I was for a long time ignorant. Naturally, I turned for information to the biographies of the poet-actor. But I was doomed to a disappointment. For there, in the welter of quoted, copied, and sometimes photographed documents, among "allusions" that alluded to Shakespeare and "allusions" that did not allude to him at all, in the confusion of skilfully deployed adverbs implying various degrees of uncertainty in the mind of the biographer (as, "doubtless," "probably," "credibly," and their kind), in the tangle of arguments supporting now one theory of authorship and now another, I felt myself strangely lost, like a person who searches in vain through

\* Throughout this book I have adopted the lazy expedient of spelling Shakespeare in this fashion. I am aware that William Shakespeare of Stratford is not known to have employed this orthography, and I am aware that many of the plays and poems appeared with the hyphenated signature, which, as far as I can discover, William Shakespeare of Stratford never employed. It seemed best, all in all, to adhere to a simple convention.

a volume for something which the title-page has promised to include, but which he cannot find. At the end of an armful of books I was, if anything, farther away from the man Shakespeare than when I began.

What, for example, did Shakespeare do when he was a boy? Where did he go to school,—not where did he “doubtless” go, but where really? Who were his chums, and later his friends; and why no letters from him to them? Why did he not publish his own plays, or at least prevent wholesale piracy and the despair of modern editors? How could a man be so careful about his second-best bed and so careless about his poetry? I can never be certain whether the young man of the sonnets was Mary Fitton or Mr. W. H.—there are arguments for both—or whether Mr. W. H. was one whose initials, as some insist, were not W. H. at all, but out of quite another part of the alphabet.

In lieu of reconciling all the divergent and vigorously debated opinions about Shakespeare, it became my amusement to test each new biography of the poet on one subject: Did Shakespeare poach? Are we this year, or are we not, to believe the story? On the face of it, it is extremely probable that a countryman of twenty odd years should steal deer and be thrashed for it. But, on the face of it, again, it is extremely improbable that the greatest and most learned poet in the language should, a married man with a growing family, fall into

such ways. Still, who can tell? What have the biographers done with the story?

My experience is that the authenticity of the yarn depends on the biography of the moment. One is reminded of a clever Frenchman who, discussing certain phases of the Shakespeare sonnets, remarked in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*:—

"Enfin M. Gerald Massey . . . soulagea d'un grand pois la conscience Anglaise en *désinfectant*, c'est lui-même qui s'en vante, les sonnets de Shakespeare. Le procédé de désinfection consistait, tout simplement à diviser arbitrairement les sonnets en *personnels* et en *dramatiques*. Étaient personnels tous ceux qui, d'après le code moral de M. Massey, étaient compatibles avec la dignité et la vertu de Shakespeare. Tous les autres étaient *dramatiques*. . . . Ainsi s'expliquait l'énigme, ainsi tombait le scandale. Shakespeare était rendu blanc comme neige à la pieuse admiration des Anglais."

Very similar is the case with the "deer stealing prank." It has always, strangely enough, been considered one offence. The sources agree in giving the impression that it was more than one, if not several. It may be "doubtless" true that Shakespeare was caught but once, if at all, but it is equally clear that the word "prank" should be made plural. Let us look into the origin of the story.

Nicholas Rowe was a play-writer of Queen Anne's time. In 1709 he published an account of the life of Shakespeare. His information, he

says, came mainly from the actor Betterton. About 1690 (?) (Shakespeare died in 1616) Betterton went down to Warwickshire to learn what he could about Shakespeare. Now Rowe, who had obtained his information from Betterton, who in turn had obtained his in Warwickshire at a time when every one who had personally known Shakespeare was either seventy-four years old, older, or dead, wrote as follows:\*(1)

“He had, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company; and amongst them, some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing engaged him with them more than once in robbing a park belonging to Sir Thomas Lucy of Cherlecot [*sic*], near Stratford. For this he was persecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and in order to revenge that ill usage, he made a ballad upon him.”

This story received what a more recent biographer calls an important because independent corroboration in some notes written between 1690 and 1708 by Richard Davies, a rector in Gloucestershire. William Fulman, whoever he was, bequeathed to Davies some scraps of writing, little more than the dates of birth and death, about Shakespeare. The parson augmented these notes by adding (where he learned these items I do not know): “Much given to all unluckiness in stealing venison and

\* The numerals in parentheses refer, by chapters, to the corresponding numerals in the Bibliography at the back of the book.



rabbits, particularly from Sir . . . Lucy, who had him oft whipped and sometimes imprisoned, and at last made him fly his native country to his great advancement, but his revenge was so great that he is his Justice Clodpate\* and calls him a great man, and that in allusion to his name bore three louses rampant for his arms." (2) Shakespeare, Archdeacon Davies adds, died a papist. So far as I am aware, this last statement has not been widely perpetuated. Why? It might serve to explain certain Romish passages in the plays.

But these are the documents—and the only known early documents—bearing on the Lucy legend. How to determine its truth or falsity? Let us see.

One gentleman, with spectacles and a perplexed brow, writes, "Doubtless,† this tradition may be dismissed as scarcely credible. Who can conceive of the creator of Hamlet, the author of 'Lear' and 'Macbeth,' the poet of the sonnets and 'Cymbeline,' albeit in the flush and prime of youth, so far forgetting his high destiny as" . . . and so on to the demolition of a respectable mouth-to-mouth tradition. Another historian, of a less moral turn, considers the poaching incident as "probably authentic," and warns his readers not to judge Shakespeare too hastily for this "boyish escapade." We all

\* Justice Clodpate was a character in the comedy of "Epsom Wells."

† Doubtless, Free from doubt or uncertainty, undoubted, indubitable. . . . Often in a weaker sense.—*Oxford Dictionary*.

at times have felt like poaching. Humanum est errare. I believe that this is the view held to-day by the "consensus of scholarly opinion."

The word play on "luce" in "The Merry Wives," the possible similarity between Justice Shallow in the same play and Sir Thomas Lucy, the fact that Shakespeare has been credited with some scurrilous verses against that knight, and that the poaching story is the only glimmer of light between the marriage of Shakespeare and his appearance in London have done much to confirm the orthodox theory of the incident. Other information derivable from Rowe and Davies, not having such support, has been accepted or discarded less elaborately, after the manner of Mr. Gerald Massey, mentioned a page or so back.

On one occasion it was discovered that there was no deer park in Stratford in Shakespeare's time. (3) This is not a matter of conjecture, but of fact and record. Since, then, there was no enclosure, deer came under the head of *ferae naturae*, and might be killed by whoso willed and could shoot straight. This, again, is not a matter of conjecture, but of fact and record. But,—here is the reason (so I think) why this highly apochryphal legend has been retained in spite of its obvious falsity,—if the Lucy incident is not true, how can the rest of Mr. Nicholas Rowe's biography be trusted, and how account for the joke in "The Merry Wives" unless on the assumption that any one might

have made it, poacher in Lucy's domain or not? And, without Rowe and Davies, Shakespearean life-writing is a strain on the imagination. The dilemma is perfect.

Some one recently proposed the following solution. In Archdeacon Davies' story it was said that Shakespeare was unlucky in stealing rabbits as well as venison, and "particularly from Sir . . . Lucy." Now, as a rule, the term "warren" applies to rabbits, not to deer. Sidney Lee, in discussing this very matter, says that Sir Thomas Lucy owned a warren at Charlecote. I do not question the truth of this statement: I have not seen the evidence. The explanation is simple and logical. There was no deer park, *ergo* no deer. But there was a warren, *ergo* rabbits. The line in "The Taming of the Shrew," therefore, "I knew a wench married in an afternoon as she went to the garden for parsley to stuff a rabbit," is henceforth invested with the aroma of a personal reminiscence. And Moth's remark in "Love's Labor's Lost" about "your arms crossed on your thin-belly doublet like a rabbit on a spit" may well recall the more savory results of the deed. In the absence of evidence to the contrary such may be the true interpretation of the little anecdote. My informant is Mr. Joseph Butts.

I have been further puzzled in my readings of the biographies of our national poet to find out not *what*, but *how much* is alleged as known

about the object of our quest. In the absence of quality, quantity has had to suffice. Mr. Fleay, himself a writer of note on Shakespeare, once said of a collection of allusions to Shakespeare, "nominate and innominate," as some one has phrased it:—

"They consist almost entirely of slight references to his published works, and have no bearing of importance on his career. Nor, indeed, have we any extensive material of any kind to aid us in this investigation; *one source of information, which is abundant for most of his contemporaries, being in his case entirely absent.*\* Neither as addressed to him by others, nor by him to others, do any commendatory verses exist in connection with any of his or any other men's works published in his lifetime—a notable fact, in whatever way it may be explained. Nor can he be traced in any personal contact beyond a very limited circle, although the fanciful might-have-beens so largely indulged in by his biographers might at first lead us to an opposite conclusion."

The second aspect of the matter is presented by Sidney Lee, who remarks: "The scantiness of contemporary records of Shakespeare's career has been much exaggerated. An investigation extending over two centuries has brought together a mass of detail which far exceeds that accessible in the case of any other contemporary writer. . . . The fully

\* My italics.

ascertained facts are numerous enough to define sharply the general direction that Shakespeare's career followed."

Which, Mr. Fleay or Mr. Lee, is right? And what, expurgated and stripped of all the superimposed biographical rhetoric and imaginations, are those facts about Shakespeare?

In the following skeleton account of Shakespeare I have included, according to the sternest canons of academic practice and literary orthodoxy, every available scrap of information about Shakespeare between 1564 and 1616. With material of later date I have been more arbitrary. If there are flagrant omissions, they are due to my carelessness or to the fact that it was impossible to get certain information. I have worked, and with reasonable consistency, on the hypothesis that, in order to be admitted within this catalogue, each record or allusion to Shakespeare must, in one spelling or another, bear the name Shakespeare. Thus much matter of the purely conjectural variety has been wholly eliminated. And when it is further realized that in several Elizabethan and Jacobean allusions to the plays Shakespeare's name was not included, and that Henslowe, a joint proprietor of the Rose and several other theatres where many of the great dramas were produced, in the eighteen years of his diary (1591-1609) failed once to speak of Shakespeare, —when these items are recalled, few readers

will be surprised at the barrenness of the results herein set forth. The allusions to and records of Shakespeare being, as Mr. Fleay has suggested, curiously sparse, any comparison of the physical bulk of this volume with that of other lives of Shakespeare must be complimentary to me.

Lately people have been questioning the identity of William Shakespeare, the actor, of Stratford, with William Shakespeare, the poet and playwright. Arguments of spelling have had their force, and are not without importance; but from them we can expect little that is definite. Arguments from probability, human and fictitious, merging into arguments of analogy, also lend their weight to the controversy. Even a rival candidate in Lord Verulam has won many adherents. It is chiefly, however, to clarify the atmosphere that the device of this book \* has been resorted to. Strictly speaking, I have prepared no argument at all, but a tabular view of the ascertained facts,—the existing “accepted” facts concerning the two Williams; and, where there is a chance

\* I have been of two minds whether to use “unexpurgated” or “expurgated” in the title of this book. Neither is a usual word for such a purpose, and neither wholly expresses what I mean. I have presented the life of Shakespeare unexpurgated in so far as I have included matter commonly omitted (as in the case of the Northumberland Manuscript), hitherto glossed over (as in the case of the Manningham story), or commonly relegated to a footnote (as in the case of the epitaph on Ben Jonson). But in the main I have presented the life of Shakespeare expurgated of all the tissue of surmises, doubts, likelihoods, and other text which tends to obscure the vision of one who is trying to select for himself the known facts and draw for himself his own conclusions.

that the one might be or has been confounded with the other, I have tried to unravel the mystery. I have believed that it is the province of the biographer not to imagine, "portray," or omit, but merely to present and occasionally to explain.

## CHAPTER TWO.

### JOHN SHAKESPEARE IN THE RECORDS.

In this chapter I have selected only those records of John Shakespeare of Stratford which afford either vital statistics or any mention of William Shakespeare. Very numerous, indeed, are the items concerning John Shakespeare in the local archives, but, as little can be learned from them except the facts and dates of the holding of town offices, loaning and owing money, and so on, it did not seem worth while to reprint them in full. Moreover, it is impossible to be certain that they all refer to the same man. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps has published an approximately complete list. (1)

1551 (?). John Shakespeare left Snitterfield, his birthplace.

1556. John Shakespeare bought two freehold tenements in Stratford.

1557 (?). John Shakespeare married Mary Arden.

1558. John Shakespeare was baptized.

1562. Margaret Shakespeare was baptized.

1563. Margaret Shakespeare was buried.

1564. William Shakespeare was baptized.

1566. Gilbert Shakespeare was baptized.

1569. Joan Shakespeare was baptized.



- 1571. Anna Shakespeare was baptized.
- 1573-4. Richard Shakespeare was baptized.
- 1579. Anna Shakespeare was buried.
- 1580. Edmund Shakespeare was baptized.
- 1596. The draft of a coat-of-arms for John Shakespeare was made. (2)
- 1599. The coat-of-arms was drafted. (3)
- 1601. John Shakespeare was buried. (No will has been found, and there is no known record of his grave.)

### CHAPTER THREE.

## WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE IN THE RECORDS.

For the sake of convenience I have made this arbitrary distinction between "records" and "allusions." I call "records" all those facts which have been found in parish registers, official archives, and such business correspondence as relates directly to the affairs of Shakespeare. The word "allusions" in this book covers practically everything else naming Shakespeare, except the material in the chapter "Evidences from the Plays and Poems."

Owing to the commonness of the name Shakespeare in Elizabethan times, "the poet has been more than once credited with achievements which rightly belonged to one or other of his numerous contemporaries who were identically named."\* It is impossible, at this distance of time, to maintain that all the records in this chapter refer to the same William Shakespeare; and it is equally inadvisable to guess which refer to him and which do not.

1564, April 26. William Shakespeare was baptized at Stratford. (1)

1582, Nov. 27. An entry in the register of the Bishop of Worcester, issuing a license

\*Sidney Lee, "A Life of William Shakespeare," 1909, p. 2.

authorizing the marriage of William Shakespeare and Anne Whatley of Temple Grafton. (2)

1582, Nov. 28. A deed was filed in the registry of the Bishop of Worcester in which two husbandmen of Stratford went bond that no impediment "by reason of precontract" existed in the way of the marriage of William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway of Shottery. (3)

1583, May 26. Susanna, daughter of William Shakespeare, was baptized. (4)

1585, Feb. 2. Hamnet and Judith Shakespeare were baptized. (5)

1589. William Shakespeare's name was mentioned in a bill of complaint brought by John Shakespeare against John Lambert of Stratford respecting an estate at Wilmecote, near Stratford. (6)

1594-5, March. William Kempe, William Shakespeare, and Richard Burbage were paid in all twenty pounds as members of the Lord Chamberlain's company, which had acted before the Queen. (7)

Before 1595. Anne Shakespeare borrowed forty shillings from Thomas Withington. Unpaid in 1601. (8)

1595. William Shakespeare was held liable for a subsidy assessed in St. Helen's Bishopsgate. (9)

1596. Memorandum by Alleyn to the effect that Shakespeare was lodging near the bear garden in Southwark (?). (10)

1596, Aug. 11. Hamnet Shakespeare was buried in Stratford. (11)

1596, October. William Shakespeare was returned as a defaulter for a tax in St. Helen's. (12)

1597. Again taxed in St. Helen's. (13)

1597, May 4. William Shakespeare bought New Place in Stratford for sixty pounds. A fine was levied at the same time. (14)

1597-8, Feb. 4. William Shakespeare was on record as a householder in Chapel Street, Stratford, and as the owner of ten quarters of corn. (15)

1598, October. William Shakespeare was again taxed in St. Helen's. (16)

1598. Acted in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humor." (17)

1598. Bought stone to repair his house in Stratford (?). (18)

1597-8, Jan. 24. Abraham Sturley of Stratford, in a letter to his brother-in-law, Richard Quiney, in London, wrote: "This one special remembrance from our father's motion. It seemeth by him that our countryman, Mr. Shakespeare is willing to disburse some money upon some odd yardland or other at Shottery or near about us; he thinketh it a very fit pattern to move him in the matter of our tithes. By the instructions you can give him thereof, and by the friends he can make therefor, we think it a fair mark for him to shoot at and would do us much good." (19)

1598, Oct. 25. Richard Quiney wrote to

William Shakespeare, his "loving good friend and countryman": "Loving countryman, I am bold of you, as of a friend, craving your help with xxx ll upon Mr. Bushell's and my security, or Mr. Mytton's with me. Mr. Ross-well is not come to London as yet, and I have especial cause. You shall friend me much in helping me out of all the debts I owe in London, I thank God, and much quiet my mind, which would not be indebted. I am now towards the Court, in hope of answer for the dispatch of my business. You shall neither lose credit nor money by me, the Lord willing; and now but persuade yourself so, as I hope, and you shall not need to fear, but, with all hearty thankfulness, I will hold my time, and content your friend, and if we bargain farther, you shall be the pay-master yourself. My time bids me hasten to an end, and so I commit this your care and hope of your help. I fear I shall not be back this night from the Court. Haste. The Lord be with you and with us all, Amen! From the Bell in Carter Lane, the 25th October, 1598.

"Yours in all kindness,

"RYC. QUINEY."

(This has been deemed worth printing in full, as it is the only known extant letter addressed to William Shakespeare.) (20)

1598, Nov. 4. Abraham Sturley in Stratford, writing to Richard Quiney in London, said he hoped that "our countryman, Mr.

Wm. Shak. would procure us money, which I will like of, as I shall hear when, and where, and how." (21)

1598, 1599 (?). Adrian Quiney, writing from Stratford to his son Richard Quiney, at the Bell in Carter Lane, said, "If you bargain with Wm. Sha . . . or receive money therefore, bring your money home that you may; and see how knit stockings be sold." (22)

1599 (?). William Shakespeare's name appeared in an heraldic manuscript book as one who had received arms under false pretences. (23)

1600, March. William Shakespeare recovered in London a debt of seven pounds from John Clayton. (24)

Before 1602. Planted a fruit orchard in Stratford. (25)

1602, May 1. William Shakespeare bought a hundred and seven acres, more or less, of arable land in Old Stratford for three hundred and twenty pounds. (26)

1602, Sept. 28. William Shakespeare bought a cottage and garden in Chapel Lane. (27)

1603, May. William Shakespeare was listed with some of the actors of Lord Chamberlain's company who were licensed by the King. (28)

1603. William Shakespeare acted in Ben Jonson's "Sejanus." (29)

1603-4, March 15. William Shakespeare and eight other actors walked in a procession from the Tower to Westminster. (30)

1604. William Shakespeare sued Phillip

Rogers for malt worth nearly two pounds, and for a loan. (31)

1604. William Shakespeare was listed as holding a cottage and garden at Stratford. (32)

1605. Augustine Phillips, an actor, died, leaving to his "fellow" William Shakespeare a thirty-shilling piece of gold. (33)

1605, July 24. William Shakespeare bought, for four hundred and forty pounds, a moiety of the tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Welcombe, and Bishopton. (34)

1605. Shakespeare's name as a trained soldier was recorded in the certificate of the muster-roll for Rowington, in the county of Warwick. (35)

1606, August. William Shakespeare was listed in a survey of Stratford as owner of a copyhold estate. (36)

1607, June 5. Susanna Shakespeare married John Hall at Stratford. (37)

1607, Dec. 31. Edmund Shakespeare, actor, was buried in Southwark. (38)

1608, Sept. 9. Mary Shakespeare was buried in Stratford. (39)

1608, Oct. 16. William Shakespeare stood godfather at Stratford to the son of William Walker. (40)

1608-9. William Shakespeare was at law in Stratford with John Addenbroke for the recovery of a debt. (41)

1610. Shakespeare's estate (bought from the Combes) was fined. (42)

1611. Shakespeare's name appears in some

papers involved in a lawsuit. From them we learn a little about Shakespeare's financial affairs, but nothing about the identity of the poet and the actor. (43)

1612. Shakespeare's name appeared in a bill of complaint respecting the Stratford tithes. (44)

1612-3, March 10. William Shakespeare, together with William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemming, bought a house and grounds near the Blackfriars Theatre. (45)

1612-3, March 11. William Shakespeare, together with William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemming, mortgaged the Blackfriars property to Henry Walker, from whom they had bought it. (46)

1613, March 31. "Mr. Shakespeare" received forty-four shillings from the steward of the Earl of Rutland "about my Lord's Impreso." (Richard Burbage, on the same day, received the same sum for "painting and making it in gold.") (47)

1614, July. John Combe of Stratford died, bequeathing to William Shakespeare five pounds. (48)

1614, Oct. 28. William Shakespeare and Thomas Greene of Stratford obtained a deed indemnifying them against any injury from the enclosing of the common lands in Stratford. (49)

1614, Nov. 17. Entry in Thomas Greene's diary (Greene was town-clerk of Stratford): "My cousin Shakespeare coming yesterday to



towne, I went to see him how he did. He told me that they assured him they meant to inclose no further than to Gospell Bush, and so up straight (leaving out part of the Dingles to the Field) to the Gate in Clopton hedge, and take in Salisbury's piece, and that they mean in April to survey the land, and then to give satisfaction, and not before; and he and Mr. Hall say they think there will be nothing done at all." (50)

1614, Dec. 23. From the same: "A hall. Letters written one to Mr. Mannering, another to Mr. Shakespeare, with almost all the company's hands to either. I also wrote of myself to my cousin Shakespeare the copies of all our acts, and then also a note of the inconveniences would happen by the enclosures." (50)

1614-5, Jan. From the same: "Mr. Replyngham, 28 Octobris, article with Mr. Shakespeare, and then I was put in by T. Lucas." (50)

1614-5, Jan. 11. From the same: "Mr. Mannering and his agreement for me with my cousin Shakespeare." (50)

1615, Sept. From the same: "Mr. Shakespeare telling J. Greene I was not able to bear the enclosing of Welcombe." (50)

(The notes from Greene's diary have been deemed worth printing in full, because they are the most intimate and personal contemporary records of William Shakespeare known.)

1615, April 26. William Shakespeare was

one of six petitioners to Lord Chancellor Eger-ton praying him to compel Matthew Bacon to deliver up papers concerning their title to various houses and lands within the precinct of Blackfriars. (May 15. Answer of Mat-thew Bacon. May 22. Order of the court di-recting the surrender of the papers to the pe-titioners.) (51)

1616, Feb. 10. Judith Shakespeare married Th. Quiney. (52)

1616, March 25. Date of Shakespeare's will. (53)

1616, April 23. William Shakespeare was buried. (54)

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It will be observed that not one of the records printed in this chapter evidences any connection between William Shakespeare of Stratford and the William Shakespeare of the great plays. It is true that William Shake-speare of Stratford acted in some of the plays bearing the name William Shakespeare or Shake-speare on the title-page. But it is not true that this similarity and at times identity of names has left any trace in any known sur-viving contemporary record to the effect that any one supposed the Stratford Shakespeare to be other than an actor or a man of affairs. It may be that documents will some time show that such a connection existed. Till they do, we cannot make it for them.

## CHAPTER FOUR.

### SHAKESPEARE'S WILL.

It seemed interesting to print Shakespeare's will, for two reasons: first, it is the only extant autographed document which may be assumed to have been composed by, or phrased under the direction of, William Shakespeare; and, second, because it might reasonably be expected that the identity of the actor with the dramatist would in it be disclosed or at least indicated. A careful perusal of this composition, however, will afford no clew.

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"Vicesimo quinto die Martii, anno regni domini nostri Jacobi, nunc regis Anglie, &c. decimo quarto, et Scotie xlix<sup>o</sup> annoque Domini, 1616.

"T. Wmi. Shakespeare.—In the name of God, amen! I William Shakespeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warr. gent., in perfect health and memory, God be praised, do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following, that is to say, First, I commend my soul into the hands of God my Creator, hoping and assuredly believing, through the only merits of Jesus Christ, my Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlasting, and my body to the earth

whereof it is made. Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Judith one hundred and fifty pounds of lawful English money, to be paid unto her in manner and form following, that is to say, one hundred pounds in discharge of her marriage portion within one year after my decease, with consideration after the rate of two shillings in the pound for so long time as the same shall be unpaid unto her after my decease, and the fifty pounds residue thereof upon her surrendering of, or giving of such sufficient security as the overseers of this my will shall like of to surrender or grant, all her estate and right that shall descend or come unto her after my decease, or that she now hath, of, in or to, one copyhold tenement with the appurtenances lying and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warr., being parcel or holding of the manor of Rowington, unto my daughter Susanna Hall and heirs forever. Item, I give and bequeath unto my said daughter Judith one hundred and fifty pounds more, if she or any issue of her body be living at the end of three years next ensuing the day of the date of this my will, during which time my executors to pay her consideration from my decease according to the rate aforesaid; and if she die within the said term without issue of her body, then my will is, and I do give and bequeath one hundred pounds thereof to my niece Elizabeth Hall, and the fifty pounds to be set forth by my executors during the life of my sister Joan Hart,

and the use and profit thereof coming shall be paid to my said sister Joan, and after her decease the said fifty pounds shall remain amongst the children of my said sister to be divided amongst them; but if my said daughter Judith be living at the end of the said three years, or any issue of her body, then my will is and so I devise and bequeath the said hundred and fifty pounds to be set out by my executors and overseers for the best benefit of her and her issue, and the stock not to be paid unto her so long as she shall be married and covert baron; but my will is that she shall have the consideration yearly paid unto her during her life, and, after her decease, the said stock and consideration to be paid to her children, if she have any, and if not, to her executors or assigns, she living the said term after my decease, Provided that if such husband as she shall at the end of the said three years be married unto, or at any after, do sufficiently assure unto her and the issue of her body lands answerable to the portion by this my will given unto her, and to be adjudged so by my executors and overseers, then my will is that the said one hundred and fifty pounds shall be paid to such husband as shall make such assurance, to his own use. Item, I give and bequeath unto my said sister Joan twenty pounds and all my wearing apparel, to be paid and delivered within one year after my decease; and I do will and devise unto her the house with the appurtenances in Stratford,

wherein she dwelleth, for her natural life, under the yearly rent of twelve pence. Item, I give and bequeath unto her three sons, William Hart, . . . Hart, and Michael Hart, five pounds apiece, to be paid within one year after my decease. Item, I give and bequeath unto the said Elizabeth Hall all my plate except my broad silver and gilt bowl, that I now have at the date of this my will. Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of Stratford aforesaid ten pounds; to Mr. Thomas Combe my sword; to Thomas Russell esquire five pounds, and to Francis Collins of the borough of Warr. in the county of Warr., gent., thirteen pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, to be paid within one year after my decease. Item, I give and bequeath to Hamlet Sadler twenty-five shillings and eight pence to buy him a ring; to William Reynolds, gent., twenty-six shillings eight pence to buy him a ring; to my god-son William Walker twenty shillings in gold; to Anthony Nash gent. twenty-six shillings eight pence, and to Mr. John Nash twenty-six shillings eight pence; and to my fellows, John Hemynges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell, twenty-six shillings eight pence apiece to buy them rings. Item, I give, will, bequeath and devise unto my daughter Susanna Hall, for better enabling of her to perform this my will, and towards the performance thereof, all that capital messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, in Stratford aforesaid, called the New Place, wherein I now dwell, and two mes-

suages or tenements with the appurtenances, situate lying and being in Henley Street within the borough of Stratford aforesaid; and all my barns, stables, orchards, gardens, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, situate, lying and being, or to be had, received, perceived, or taken, within the towns, hamlets, villages, fields and grounds of Stratford-upon-Avon, Old Stratford, Bushopton, and Welcombe, or in any of them in the said county of Warr. And also all that messuage or tenement with the appurtenances wherein one John Robinson dwelleth, situate lying and being in the Blackfriars in London near the Wardrobe; and all other my lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, To have and to hold all and singular the said premises with their appurtenances unto the said Susanna Hall for and during the term of her natural life, and after her decease, to the first son of her body lawfully issuing, and to the heirs males of the body of the said first son lawfully issuing, and for default of such issue, to the second son of her body lawfully issuing, and to the heirs males of the body of the said second son lawfully issuing, and for default of such heirs, to the third son of the body of the said Susanna lawfully issuing, and of the heirs males of the body of the said third son lawfully issuing, and for default of such issue, the same so to be and remain to the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh sons of her body lawfully issuing one after another, and to the heirs males of the bodies

of the said fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh sons lawfully issuing in such manner as it is before limited to be and remain to the first, second and third sons of her body, and to their heirs males, and for default of such issue, the said premises to be and remain to my said niece Hall, and the heirs males of her body lawfully issuing, and for default of such issue, to my daughter Judith, and the heirs males of her body lawfully issuing, and for default of such issue, to the right heirs of me the said William Shakespeare forever. Item, I give unto my wife my second best bed with the furniture. Item, I give and bequeath to my said daughter Judith my broad silver gilt bowl. All the rest of my goods, chattels, leases, plate, jewels, and household stuff whatsoever, after my debts and legacies paid, and my funeral expenses discharged, I give, devise, and bequeath to my son-in-law, John Hall, gent., and my daughter Susanna, his wife, whom I ordain and make executors of this my last will and testament. And I do entreat and appoint the said Thomas Russell, esquire, and Francis Collins, gent., to be overseers hereof, and do revoke all former wills, and publish this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand the day and year first above written.—By me William Shakespeare.

“Witness to the publishing hereof,—Fra: Collyns; Julius Shawe; John Robinson; Hamnet Sadler; Robert Whattcott.” (1)



## CHAPTER FIVE.

### POEMS ASCRIBED TO SHAKESPEARE OF STRATFORD.

There is little to be said about the verses attributed to Shakespeare of Stratford. As poetry it is not in my biographical province to criticise them. Whether or not they are authentic it is impossible to determine: one can only guess. The modern biographers incline to agree to disbelieve that Shakespeare was their author; that is, of all but the gravestone lines. It may be that it is necessary to imagine that these were written by Shakespeare in order to assume that his body is contained in the ground beneath them. Oral tradition (by oral tradition I mean that not written down, so far as can be ascertained, during Shakespeare's lifetime) says that he lies there, and that he composed the rhyme. Oral tradition also declares that the other poetry printed in this chapter was written by Shakespeare. It may be so: we do not know.

. . . . .

A man who lived near Stratford and who died in 1703, at the age of ninety or so, is said to have remembered hearing several old people at Stratford tell the anecdote of Shakespeare's

stealing deer from Sir Thomas Lucy. The first stanza only of the ballad composed on that occasion could the man recall:—

A parliament member, a justice of peace,  
At home a poor scarecrow, at London an ass,  
If lowsie is Lucy, as some folk miscall it,  
Then Lucy is lowsie, whatever befall it.  
He thinks himself great,  
Yet an ass in his state,  
We allow by his ears but with asses to mate;  
If Lucy is lowsie, as some folk miscall it,  
Sing lowsie Lucy, whatever befall it. (1)

[Compare "Merry Wives of Windsor," I. 1:—

*Slen.* All his successors (gone before him)  
hath don't: and all his ancestors (that come after  
him) may: they may give the dozen white luces in  
their coats.

*Shal.* It is an old coat.

*Evans.* The dozen white luces do become an  
old coat well: it agrees well passant: it is a familiar  
beast to man, and signifies love.

"Luce" and "louse," we are told, were pronounced alike.]

---

In a manuscript pocket-book which Arch-deacon Plume of Rochester used, it is conjectured, about 1656 to note down various trifles, appears the following couplet ascribed to Shakespeare. It is on the authority of John Hackett that Plume quoted this mock epitaph on Ben Jonson:—

Here lies Benjamin . . . w[ith] short hair up[on]  
his chin  
Who w[hi]l[e] he lived w[as] a slow th[ing], and  
now he is d[e]ad is nothing. (2)

---

In a manuscript written, it is conjectured,  
not many years after the death of Shakespeare,  
occurs this passage:—

“On John Combe a covetous rich man, Mr.  
Wm. Shakespeare wrote this at his request  
while he was yet living for his epitaph:

Who lies in this tomb?  
Hough, quoth the devil, 'tis my son, John a'Combe.  
*Finis.*

“But, being dead and making the poor his  
heirs [Combe left Shakespeare five pounds], he  
after writes this for his epitaph:

However he lived judge not.  
John Combe shall never be forgot,  
While poor hath memory, for he did gather  
To make the poor his issue: he their father  
As record of his tilth and seeds  
Did crown him in his latter needs. *Finis.* W.  
Shak.” (3)

Aubrey, writing in 1680, quoted these lines  
as having been composed by Shakespeare at a  
tavern:—

Ten in a hundred the devil allows,  
But Combes will have twelve he swears and vows.  
If any one asks who lies in this tome,  
Hoh! quoth the devil, 'tis my John o'Combe! (4)

Rowe, writing in 1709, asserted that the epitaph that Shakespeare composed to amuse Combe was this:

Ten-in-the-Hundred lies here ingrav'd,  
'Tis a hundred to ten his soul is not sav'd;  
If any man ask, who lies in this tomb?  
Oh! ho! quoth the devil, 'tis my John-a-Combe.  
(5)

---

Stratford tradition credits Shakespeare with the authorship of the local jingle running as follows:—

Dirty Gretton, dingy Greet,  
Beggarly Winchcomb, Sudley sweet;  
Hartshorn and Wittington Bell,  
Andoversford and Merry Frog Mill. (6)

---

The following lines are inscribed on a grave-stone in the church at Stratford. Tradition agrees in assigning both tomb and poetry to Shakespeare:—

Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear  
To dig the dust enclosed here;  
Blest be the man that spares these stones,  
And curst be he that moves my bones. (7)

## CHAPTER SIX.

### CONTEMPORARY ALLUSIONS, REAL AND SUPPOSED, TO WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

1592. In an address "To those gentlemen, his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making plays, R. G. [Robert Greene] wisheth a better exercise and wisdom to prevent his extremeties," and said, to these playwrights:—

"Base minded men all three of you, if by my misery ye be not warned; for unto none of you, like me, sought those burrs to cleave, those puppets (I mean) that speak from our mouths, those antics garnished in our colors. Is it not strange that I, to whom they all have been beholding, is it not like that you, to whom they all have been beholding, shall, (were ye in the case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken? Yes, trust them not, for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide*, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes Factotum, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country. O, that I might entreat your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses,

and let these apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions. I know the best husband of you all will never prove a usurer and the kindest of them all will never prove a kind nurse; yet, whilst you may, seek you better masters, for it is a pity men of such rare wits should be subject to the pleasures of such rude grooms." (1)

1592. Greene's letter, said Chettle later in the same year, referring to the epistle just quoted from, "written to divers playmakers, is offensively by one or two of them taken, and because on the dead they cannot be avenged they wilfully forge in their conceits a living author, and, after tossing it to and fro, no remedy but that it must light on me. How I have all the time of my conversing in printing hindered the litter inveighing against scholars, it hath been very well known; and how in that I deal I can sufficiently prove. With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be. The other, whom at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had, for that as I have moderated the heat of living writers, and might have used my own discretion (especially in such a case) the author being dead, that I did not I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault, because myself have seen his demeanor no less civil than he excellent in the quality he professes;

besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty; and his facetious grace in writing that approves his art."

In the first passage here quoted Greene addresses three playwrights, and warns them not to trust the players, because there is an "upstart crow" who decorates himself in those playwrights' feathers; that is to say, who gets hold of plays by the playwrights here addressed and uses parts of them for his own purposes. Greene dubs this purloiner of other men's writings a "Johannes Factotum," who regards himself as the only "Shake-scene in a country," and who wraps "a tiger's heart in a player's hide." This looks like a clear and contemptuous allusion to Shakespeare in his capacity as dramatist working under the name of an actor.

In the second passage here quoted, Chettle, who published Greene's letter, denies that he wrote it himself, and regrets that he did not soften the slur on "the other" playwright who has been taken to be the "Shake-scene" alluded to above. Chettle expresses his sorrow because "divers of worship" have testified to Shake-scene's civility of demeanor and his excellence in his profession, as well as to his uprightness and his "facetious grace" in writing. Chettle is manifestly alluding to a playwright, not an actor. There is nothing to be learned here about the identity between the

Stratford actor and the poet Shakespeare, or Shake-scene. (2)

1594. In a laudatory address entitled "In Praise of Willobie His Avisia Hexamaton to the Author," prefixed to "Willobie his Avisia," there appeared these stanzas:—

In Lavine land though Livie boast,  
There hath been a constant dame;  
Though Rome lament that she have lost  
The garland of her rarest fame,  
Yet now we see that here is found  
As great a faith in English ground.

Though Collatine have dearly bought  
To high renown a lasting life,  
And found, that most in vain have sought,  
To have a fair and constant wife,  
Yet Tarquin plucked his glistering grape,  
And Shakespeare paints poor Lucrece rape.

Clearly a reference to Shakespeare's "The Rape of Lucrece," which was published in 1594. From this passage, however, we learn nothing about the author. It is as if some one spoke of Bryce's "American Commonwealth," so far as any information about the identity of the writer is concerned. On the face of it, therefore, these stanzas teach us nothing about William Shakespeare of Stratford, nor do they suggest, remotely or otherwise, a connection between him and the poet of "Lucrece rape." (3)

1595. On a margin of a book entitled "Polimanteia," opposite a passage in which the



author is boasting of the poets of England as compared with the poets of other countries, there occur these side-notes: "All praise worthy. Lucrecia Sweet Shakespeare. Eloquent Graveston. Wanton Adonis. Watsons heyre."

From this "allusion," as from the previous one, we learn nothing about Shakespeare. The title of one or possibly of two poems bearing the name Shakespeare are mentioned. That is all. No connection with the Stratford man is here hinted at. (4)

1597 (?). "The Return from Parnassus" was the second part of a trilogy of three plays written and acted by the students of St. John's College, Cambridge. In the second of these plays occurred the following passage:—

*Gullio.* Pardon, fair lady, though the sick-thoughted Gullio makes amain unto thee, and like a bold-faced suitor 'gins to woo thee.

*Ingenioso.* (We shall have nothing but pure Shakespeare and shreds of poetry that he hath gathered at the theatres.)

*Gullio.* Pardon me, my mistress, as I am a gentleman, the moon in comparison of thy bright hue a mere slut, Anthony's Cleopatra a black-browed milkmaid, Helen a dowdy.

*Ingenioso.* (Mark, Romeo and Juliet. Oh monstrous theft! I think he will run through a whole book of Samuel Daniel's.)

*Gullio.* Thrice fairer than myself (—thus I began—)

The gods' fair riches, sweet above compare,  
 Staine to all nymphs more lovely than a man,  
 More white and red than doves and roses are!  
 Nature that made thee with herself had strife  
 Saith that the world hath ending with thy life.

*Ingenioso.* Sweet Mr. Shakespeare!

Later in this drama, Gullio, the fool of the piece, being asked in what vein he would like some verses written for his mistress, replies:—

Not in a vain vein (pretty, i' faith!): make me them in two or three diverse veins, in Chaucer's, Gower's, and Spenser's, and Mr. Shakespeare's. Marry, I think I shall entertain those verses which run like these:

Even as the sun with purple colored face,  
 Had ta'en his last leave on the weeping morn, etc.  
 O sweet Mr. Shakespeare! I'll have his picture in my study at the Court.

In the same play, later on, Gullio says:—

Let this duncified world esteem of Spenser and Chaucer; I'll worship sweet Mr. Shakespeare, and to honor him lay his *Venus* and *Adonis* under my pillow. . . .

There is nothing to be learned here about the identity of the poet with the actor from Stratford. (5)

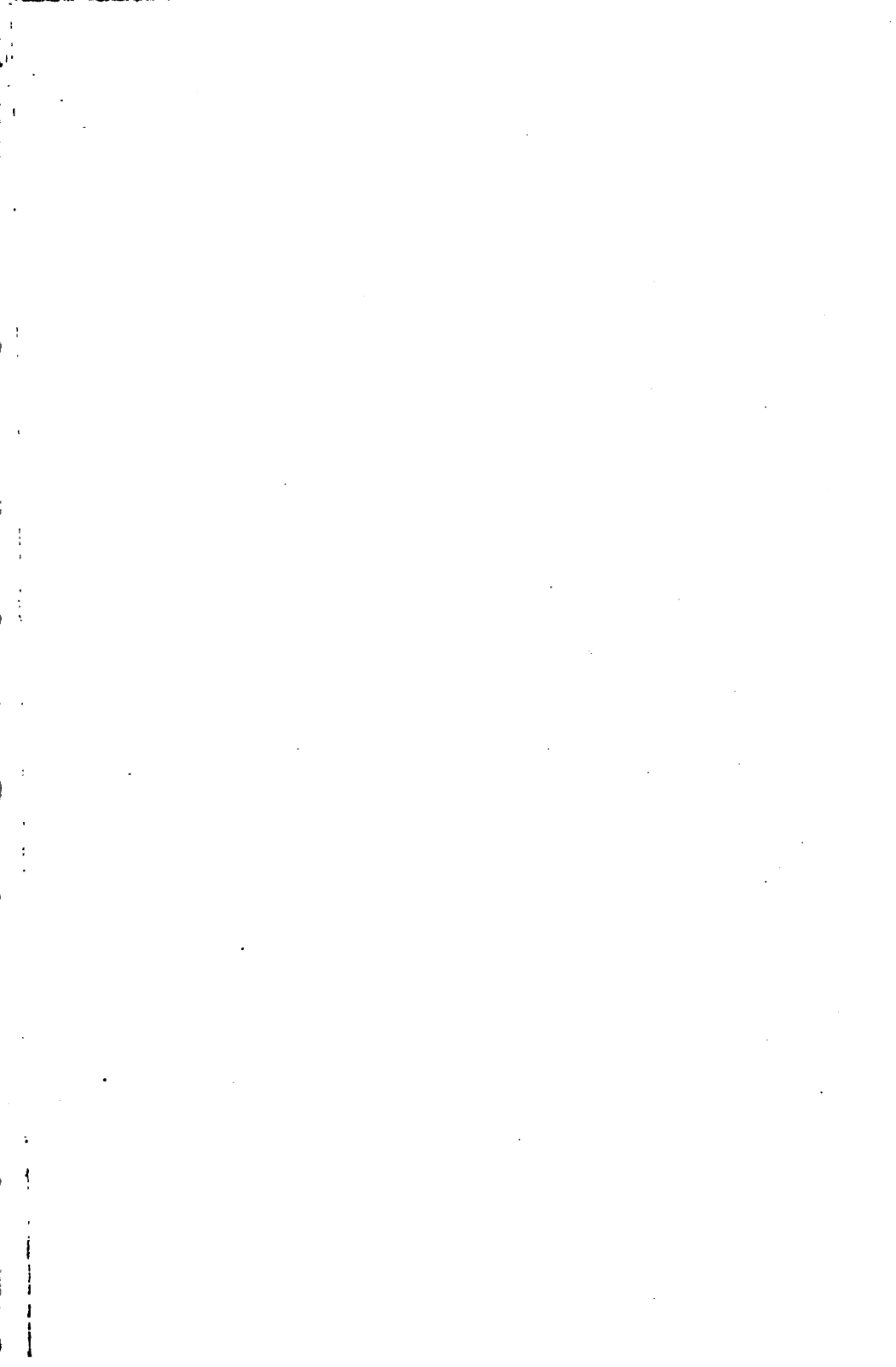
1597 (?). The Northumberland Manuscript is a folio volume containing "Of Tribute," "Of Magnanimity," "An advertisement touching private censure," "An advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England,"

"A letter to a French gentleman: touching the proceedings in England;" . . . speeches spoken in a "Device" before Queen Elizabeth in 1595, and a speech "for the Earl of Sussex at the tilt," 1596,—all these by Francis Bacon; a letter to Queen Elizabeth by Sir Philip Sidney; and an imperfect copy of "Leicester's Commonwealth." There is evidence that some things in the book have been removed, and in the table of contents it appears that among them were some orations spoken at Gray's Inn, essays by Bacon, as well as two plays entitled "Richard II." and "Richard III."

This book is interesting because it is the only known hint that the Shakespeare plays, like the Shakespeare sonnets, were circulated in manuscript. The date of this folio has been fixed at about 1597, for Bacon's essays, which had been "travelling abroad," presumably in copies from the author's manuscript, were at last published in 1597, and it is improbable that, being now accessible in print, any one would laboriously copy them out. The same is true of the Richard plays. All the other pieces in the manuscript are of earlier date.

On a fly-leaf, which is shown here photographically reproduced, some one scribbled Shakespeare's name repeatedly, and misquoted a line from "Lucrece." Strictly speaking, this document is neither a "record" nor an "allusion." As it is, however, the only known con-

temporary book among the contents of which were numbered "Richard II." and "Richard III.," and as the fly-leaf attests an interest in Shakespeare, if only orthographical, I thought it worth reproducing. (6)



A PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION OF THE OUTER LEAF OF THE NORTHUMBERLAND MANUSCRIPT.

Nevill

Mr ffrancis Bacon  
of Tribute, or giving what is due



Nevill

By Christ religio fons refusing  
of them  
By your religion your selves  
repeating as in Christ  
favour most refusings of any &

ne vile velis  
ne vile velis  
ne vile velis  
refreshing ye hart

laden with grief and  
oppression of heart  
Philippp

Nulla fides est in pactis

Mell in ore Verba lactis

Bell in corde ffrans in factis

your louinge

honoricabilitudine

speech

The praise of the worthiest vertue  
The praise of the worthiest affection  
The praise of the worthiest power  
The praise of the worthiest person

By Mr ffrancis Bacon of Gr

Philippp against monsieur

Earle of Arundells letter to the Ducon

Speeches for my Lord of Essex at the tyll

Speech for my Lord of Sussex till

Loycesters Common Wealtie

Orations at Graues Inne revells

By Mr ffrancis Bacon of Gr  
Earle of Arundells letter to the Ducon

Essaies by the same author

By Mr ffrancis Bacon of Gr  
Richard the second

Richard the third

Bacon end of the  
Revealing day through

every crany by Thomas Nashe

Shak Shak Shak

William Shakespeare

William Shakespeare

Shakope





1598. In a book called "Palladis Tamia" was printed an essay entitled "A Comparative Discourse of our English Poets with the Greek, Latin, and Italian poets," by Francis Meres, a Master of Arts of Oxford as well as of Cambridge. The following passage mentions Shakespeare:—

"As the Greek tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides, and Aristophanes; and the Latin tongue by Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Ausonius and Claudianus; so the English tongue is mightily enriched and gorgeously invested, in rare ornaments and resplendent habiliments, by Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow, and Chapman. . . .

"[As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras; so the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare. Witness his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece; his sugared sonnets among his private friends, &c.

"As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy among the Latins, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage. For comedy, witness his Gentlemen of Verona: his Errors, his Love's Labor's Lost, his Love's Labor's Won, his Midsummer Night's Dream, and his Merchant of Venice.

"For tragedy: his Richard II., Richard III.,

Henry IV., King John, Titus Andronicus, and his Romeo and Juliet.

"As Epius Stolo said that the Muses would speak with Plautus's tongue, if they would speak Latin: so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeare's fine filed phrase, if they would speak English." . . .

Shakespeare's name is mentioned five more times by Meres, but always in a group, and nowhere again singly. Thus, together with many other contemporaries, he is called a lyric poet, good at tragedies, and "most passionate among us to bewail and bemoan the perplexities of love."

These allusions are like the two just preceding, in that they tell us nothing about Shakespeare, except that the name was connected with certain poems and plays. This is not news. Of his identity with the Stratford man, the actor Shakespeare, we can learn nothing from Meres.

(7)

1598. In "Poems in Divers Humors," bound with an "Encomium of Lady Pecunia," by Richard Barnfield, under the title "A Remembrance of some English Poets," appeared these lines:

And Shakespeare thou, whose honey-flowing vein,  
(Pleasing the world) thy praises doth obtain;  
Whose *Venus* and whose *Lucrece*, (sweet and chaste)  
Thy name in fame's immortal book have placed.  
Live ever you, at least in fame live ever;  
Well may the body die, but fame dies never.

The only possible information concerning Shakespeare here obtainable is that he—whoever he was—was still alive. There is nothing to be learned here about the identity of the actor with the dramatist or of the Stratford man with the dramatist. (8)

1599. In "Epigrams in the Oldest Cut and Newest Fashion," John Weever wrote some verses inscribed "Ad Guilelum Shakespeare." They are:—

Honey-tongued Shakespeare, when I saw thine  
issue,  
I swore Apollo got them and none other,  
Their rosy-tainted features clothed in tissue,  
Some heaven-born goddess said to be their mother;  
Rose-cheeked Adonis with his amber tresses,  
Fair fire-hot Venus charming him to love her,  
Chaste Lucretia, virgin-like her dresses,  
Proud lust-stung Tarquin seeking still to prove her;  
Romea-Richard; more whose names I know not,  
Their sugared tongues and power attractive beauty  
Say they are saints, although that saints they show  
not,  
For thousands vows to them subjective duty;  
They burn in love; thy children, Shakespeare het  
them;  
Go, woo thy muse; more nymphish brood beget them.

There is nothing to be learned here about Shakespeare nor about the identity of the poet-dramatist with the actor from Stratford. (9)

1600. In a book entitled "Bel-vedere, or the Garden of the Muses," appeared this passage:—

"Now that every one may be fully satisfied concerning this Garden, that no one man doth assume to himself the praise thereof, or can arrogate to his own deserving those things which have been derived from so many rare and ingenious spirits, I have set down both how, whence and where these flowers had their first springing till thus they were drawn together into the *Muses Garden*, that every ground may challenge his own, each plant his particular, and no one be injured in the justice of his merit. . . .

"Edmund Spenser; Henry Constable esquire; Samuel Daniel; Thomas Lodge, Doctor of Physic; Thomas Watson; Michael Drayton; John Davies; Thomas Hudson; Henry Locke esquire; John Marston; Christopher Marlowe; Benjamin Jonson; William Shakespeare; Thomas Churchyard esquire; Thomas Nash; Thomas Kidd; George Peele; Robert Greene; Joshua Sylvester; Nicholas Breton; Gervase Markham; Thomas Storer; Robert Wilmot; Christopher Middleton; Richard Barnfield; these being modern and extant poets that have lived together; from many of their extant works, and some kept in private."

The only possible information concerning Shakespeare here obtainable is that he was still alive. There is nothing to be learned here about the identity of the poet-dramatist with the actor from Stratford. (10)

1601. John Manningham, a barrister-at-law

who kept a diary, wrote in it, under the date of February 2d: "At our feast we had a play called *Twelve Night*, or *What You Will*, much like the comedy of *Errors*, or *Menechmi* in *Plautus*, but most like and near to that in Italian called *Inganni*. A good practice in it to make the steward believe his lady widow was in love with him, by counterfeiting a letter as from his lady, in general terms, telling him what she liked him best in, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparel, etc., and then, when he came to practise, making him believe they took him to be mad."

This is one of many allusions to the plays of Shakespeare. It is too obvious to say that the actor is not mentioned as the author. (11)

1601, March 13. (From the same): "Upon a time when Burbage played *Richard III.* there was a citizen gone so far in liking with him, that before she went from the play she appointed him to come that night unto her by the name of *Richard the Third*. Shakespeare overhearing their conclusion went before, was entertained, and at his game ere Burbage came. The message then being brought that *Richard the Third* was at the door, Shakespeare caused return to be made that *William the Conqueror* was before *Richard the Third*. Shakespeare's name *William*."

Clearly, an allusion to Shakespeare the actor, who was a fellow of Burbage's. It is impossible

to say that Manningham considered or did not consider Shakespeare the author of the play which he had witnessed within six weeks. Without other information from Manningham this allusion evidently does not identify the Stratford man with the dramatist. (12)

1602 (?). In the third play of the trilogy played by the students of St. John's, "The Return from Parnassus or the Scourge of Simony," Ingenioso is reading from "Belvedere, or The Garden of the Muses," the names of various poets for Judicio to criticise. Toward the end of the list he comes to William Shakespeare. Judicio then says,

Who loves not Adonis love or Lucrece rape?  
His sweeter verse contains heart throbbing line,  
Could but a graver subject him content,  
Without love's foolish lazy languishment.

There is nothing to be learned here about the identity of the poet with William Shakespeare of Stratford. (13)

1602. In "The Return from Parnassus, or the Scourge of Simony," Will Kempe and Burbage, the actors, are brought on the stage. This dialogue ensues:—

*Burbage.* Now Will Kemp, if we can entertain these scholars at a low rate, it will be well, they have oftentimes a good conceit in a part.

*Kempe.* It's true indeed, honest Dick, but the slaves are somewhat proud, and besides, it is a good sport in part, to see them never speak in their walk but at the end of the stage, just as though

in walking with a fellow we should never speak but at a stile, a gate, or a ditch, where a man can go no further. I was once at a comedy in Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite make faces and mouths of all sorts in this fashion.

*Burbage.* A little teaching will mend these faults, and it may be besides they will be able to *pen* a part.

*Kempe.* Few of the university pen plays well; they smell too much of that writer Ovid and that writer Metamorphosis, and talk too much of Proserpina and Jupiter. Why, here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all down, aye, and Ben Jonson too. O that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow, he brought up Horace giving the Poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him bewray his credit.

*Burbage.* It's a shrewd fellow indeed: I wonder these scholars stay so long. . . .

In this satirical play the points are repeatedly made that actors belong to a low profession, and that in contrast to them the university men have a difficult time making their way in the world. In this passage, then, Kempe and Burbage, whose parts were of course taken by students, amuse the audience by boasting that a fellow, Shakespeare, was the author of works which could "put down" all the university pens, even Ben Jonson, who, though not a university man (he was later given honorary degrees from both Cambridge and Oxford), ranked with the university men on account of his learning. As the piece is satirical, it is diffi-

cult to take the lines as referring to Shakespeare as other than an actor. (14)

1603. In a ballad called "A Mournful Ditty entitled Elizabeth's Loss, together with a Welcome for King James," occurred these verses:

You poets all, brave Shakespeare, Jonson, Greene,  
Bestow your time to write for England's Queene.  
Lament, lament, lament, you English peers;  
Lament your loss, possessed so many years.

There is nothing to be learned here about Shakespeare nor about the identity of the poet-dramatist with the actor from Stratford. (15)

1604. In a book of "Epigrams" by I. C. occur these lines:—

Whoe'er will go unto the press may see  
The hated fathers of vile balladry;  
One sings in his base note the river Thames  
Shall sound the famous memory of noble King  
James;

Another says that he will to his death,  
Sing the renowned worthiness of sweet Elizabeth;  
So runs their verse in such disordered strain,  
And with them dare great majesty profane;  
Some dare do this; some other humbly craves  
For help of spirits in their sleeping graves,  
As he that called to Shakespeare, Jonson, Greene,  
To write of their dead noble Queen.

There is nothing to be learned here about Shakespeare nor about the identity of the poet-dramatist with the actor from Stratford. (16)



1604. In the dedication to a book called "Daiphantus, or the Passions of Love," the author says that an epistle to the reader "should be like the never-too-well-read Arcadia, where the prose and verse (matter and words) are like his mistress's eyes, one still excelling another and without corivall; or to come home to the vulgars' element, like friendly Shakespeare's tragedies, where the commedian rides, when the tragedian stands on tiptoe; faith, it should please all, like Prince Hamlet. But, in sadness, then it were to be feared he would run mad. In sooth, I will not be moonsick to please; nor out of my wits, though I displeased all."

There is nothing to be learned here about Shakespeare nor about the identity of the poet-dramatist with the actor from Stratford. (17)

1605(03). In the epistle dedicatory of Camden's "Remains of a Greater Work concerning Britain," published this year anonymously, occur these words:—

"These may suffice for some poetical descriptions of our ancient poets; if I would come to our time, what a world could I present to you out of Sir Philip Sidney, Ed. Spenser, John Owen, Samuel Daniel, Hugh Holland, Ben Jonson, Th. Campion, Mich. Drayton, George Chapman, John Marston, William Shakespeare, and other pregnant wits of these our times, whom succeeding ages may justly admire."

There is nothing to be learned here about

Shakespeare, nor about the identity of the poet-dramatist with the actor from Stratford. (18)

1607. In a book called "*Mirrha, the Mother of Adonis, or Lust's Prodigies*," William Barkssted wrote:—

But stay, my Muse, in thine own confines keep,  
And wage not war with so dear loved a neighbor;  
But having sung thy day-song, rest and sleep;  
Preserve thy small fame and his greater favor.  
His song was worthy merit (Shakespeare he,)  
Sung the fair blossom, thou, the withered tree;  
Laurel is due to him; his art and wit  
Hath purchased it; cyprus thy brow will fit.

There is nothing to be learned here about Shakespeare. Concerning the identity of the poet-dramatist and the actor we remain in our former ignorance. (19)

1610. In a book called "*Hypercritica; or a Rule of Judgment for writing or reading our histories*," Edmund Bolton wrote the following:

"The Choice of English. As for example, language and style (the apparel of matter) he who would pen our affairs in English, and compose unto us an entire body of them, ought to have a singular care thereof. For albeit our tongue hath not received dialects, or accentual notes as the Greek, nor any certain or established rule of grammar or true writing, is notwithstanding very copious, and few there be who have the most proper graces thereof, in which the rule cannot be variable: For as much as the people's judgments are uncer-

tain, the books also out of which we gather the most warrantable English are not many to my remembrance, of which, in regard they require a particular and curious tract, I forbear to speak at this present. But among the chief, or rather the chief, are in my opinion these.

"Sir Thomas Moore's works.

"George Chapman's first seven books of Iliad.

"Samuel Drayton.

"Michael Drayton his Historical Epistles of England.

"Marlowe his excellent fragment of Hero and Leander.

"Shakespeare, Mr. Francis Beaumont, and innumerable other writers for the stage; and press tenderly to be used in this argument.

"Southwell, Parson, and some few other of that sort."

There is nothing to be learned here about the identity of the Stratford man with the poet-dramatist. (20)

1611. In some notes made by William Drummond of Hawthornden, under the head "Table of my English books, anno 1611," we find the following, here reprinted letter for letter:—

Venus and Adon. by Schaksp.

The Rap of Lucrece, idem.

The Tragedie of Romeo and Julieta

4d. Ing

A Midsumers Night Dreame.

There is nothing here to be learned about the identity of the Stratford man with the poet and playwright. (21)

1611 (?). In "The Scourge of Folly" John Davies of Hereford wrote these verses, "To our English Terence, Mr. Will. Shake-speare":

Some say, good Will, (which I, in sport, do sing)  
Hadst thou not played some kingly parts in sport,  
Thou hadst been a companion for a king;  
And been a king among the meaner sort.  
Some others rail; but, rail as they think fit,  
Thou hast no railing, but a reigning wit:  
And honesty thou sow'st, which they do reap,  
So, to increase their stock which they do keep.

It is impossible, without knowing more than we do about the circumstances under which this epigram was written, to decide what it means. In terming Shakespeare a Terence, the writer evidently addressed him as a playwright. In remarking that Shakespeare had played some kingly parts in sport, we can hardly understand that Shakespeare of Stratford is mentioned, as it was not his sport, but his business to act. Doubtless, as the phrase goes, this line is figurative in meaning. From this poem we can learn nothing about the identity of the actor with the poet-dramatist. (22)

1612. In the conclusion to Webster's "White Devil" occur these words:—

"Detraction is the sworn friend to ignorance:  
for mine own part, I have ever truly cherished

my good opinion of other men's worthy labors, especially of that full and heightened style of Master Chapman, the labored and understanding works of Master Jonson, the no less worthy composures of the both excellent Master Beaumont and Master Fletcher; and lastly (without wrong last to be named) the right happy and copious industry of M. Shakespeare, M. Decker, and M. Heywood, wishing what I write may be read by their light; protesting that, in the strength of mine own judgment, I know them so worthy, that, though I rest silent in my own work, yet to most of theirs I dare, (without flattery) fix that of Martial, —non norunt, Haec monumenta mori."

There is nothing to be learned here about Shakespeare except that his industry was considered by Webster as happy and copious. Nor is there any hint of the identity of the poet-dramatist with the actor from Stratford. (23)

1614. In a book entitled "The Excellency of the English Tongue," printed in Camden's "Remains," R. C. wrote:—

"The long words that we borrow, being intermingled with the short of our own store, make up a perfect harmony, by culling from out which mixture (with judgment) you may frame a speech according to the matter you must work on, majesticall, pleasant, delicate or manly, more or less, in what sort you please. Add hereunto that, whatsoever grace any other language carrieth in verse or prose, in

tropes or metaphors, in echoes and agnominations, they may all be lively and exactly represented in ours. Will you have Plato's vein? read Sir Thomas Smith. The Ionic? Sir Thomas More. Cicero? Ascham. Varro? Chaucer. Demosthenes? Sir John Cheek (who, in his treatise to the rebels, hath comprised all the figures of rhetoric). Will you read Virgil? take the Earl of Surrey. Catullus? Shakespheare and Barlowes fragment [*sic*]. Ovid? Daniel. Lucan? Spenser. Martial? Sir John Davies and others. Will you have all in all for prose and verse? take the miracle of our age, Sir Philip Sidney."

There is nothing to be learned from this allusion about Shakespeare, nor about the identity of the poet-dramatist and the actor from Stratford. (24)

1614. The passage in the epistle dedicatory to Camden's "Remains" that was published in 1605 was reprinted this year. (See above under 1605.) (25)

1614. In some epigrams by Thomas Freeman occur the following lines "To master W. Shakespeare":—

Shakespeare, that nimble mercury, thy brain,  
Lulls many hundred Argus-eyes asleep,  
So fit for all thou fashionest thy vein;  
At th' horse-foot fountain thou hast drunk full  
deep;

Virtue's or vice's theme to thee all one is;  
Who loves chaste life, there's Lucrece for a teacher;

Who list read lust, there's Venus and Adonis,  
True model of a most lascivious lecher.  
Besides in plays thy wit winds like Meander.  
When needy new-composers borrow more  
Thence Terence doth from Plautus or Menander.  
But to praise thee aright I want thy store;  
Then let thine own works thine own worth upraise,  
And help t' adorn thee with deserved bays.

There is nothing to be learned here about Shakespeare nor about the identity of the poet-dramatist with the actor from Stratford. (26)

1614. In Stow's "The Annals, or General Chronicle of England," continued by Edmund Howe, there occurs this passage:—

"Our modern and present excellent poets, which worthily flourish in their own works, and all of them in my own knowledge lived together in this Queen's reign, according to their priorities, as near as I could, I have orderly set down (viz.) George Gascoigne, esquire; Thomas Churchyard, esquire, Sir Edward Dyer, knight, Edmund Spenser esquire, Sir Philip Sidney knight, Sir John Harrington knight, Sir Thomas Challoner knight, Sir Francis Bacon knight; and Sir John Davies knight, Master John Lily gentleman, Master George Chapman gentleman, M. W. Warner gentleman, M. Willi. Shakespeare gentleman, Samuel Daniel esquire, Michael Drayton esquire, of the bath, M. Christopher Marlow gentleman, M. Benjamin Jonson gentleman; John Marston esquire, M. Abraham Francis gentleman, Master Francis Meres gentleman,

Master Joshua Sylvester, gentleman; Master Thomas Decker, gentleman, M. John Fletcher gentleman, M. John Webster gentleman, M. Thomas Heywood gentleman, M. Thomas Middleton gentleman, M. George Withers."

There is nothing here to be learned about Shakespeare nor about the identity of the poet-dramatist and the actor from Stratford. (27)

. . . . .

Since we can find no contemporary allusion definitely declaring the two Shakespeares to be one and the same, it is not improbable that they were not regarded as the same. At least we cannot exhibit, as evidence that the identity existed, the passages quoted in this chapter.



## CHAPTER SEVEN.

### EVIDENCES FROM THE PLAYS AND POEMS.

In this chapter I have printed such documents as deal directly with the plays and poems published under the name William Shakepeare during the life time of William Shakespeare of Stratford. It did not seem useful to try to make a list of the quartos with their dates, nor did it seem wise to attempt to select from the plays and poems any so-called "self-reveulatory" or "autobiographical" passages. The preface, dedicatory letters, and records herein included show no connection between the actor and the playwright. This is the last link in our chain of negative evidence.

1593. In "Venus and Adonis," the dedication "To the Right Honorable Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and Baron of Titchfield," William Shakespeare, who signed himself "Your honor's in all duty," wrote:—

"Right Honorable, I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my unpolished lines to your Lordship, nor how the world will censure me for choosing so strong a prop to support so weak a burden, only if your Honor seem but pleased, I account myself highly praised, and vow to take advantage of all idle hours till I have honored you with some graver labor.

But if the first heir of my invention prove deformed, I shall be sorry it had so noble a godfather: and never after ear so barren a land for fear it yield me still so bad a harvest, I leave it to your Honorable survey, and your Honor to your heart's content, which I wish may always answer your own wish, and the world's hopeful expectation." (1)

There is nothing to be learned here about the identity of the Stratford actor with the poet.

1594. In the dedication to "The Rape of Lucrece," William Shakespeare, addressing again the Earl of Southampton, and signing himself as before, wrote:—

"The love I dedicate to your Lordship is without end: whereof this pamphlet without beginning is but a superfluous moiety. The warrant I have of your honorable disposition, not the worth of my untutored lines makes it assured of acceptance. What I have done is yours, what I have to do is yours, being part in all I have, devoted yours. Were my worth greater, my duty would show greater, meantime, as it is, it is bound to your Lordship; to whom I wish long life still lengthened with all happiness." (2)

There is nothing to be learned here about the identity of the Stratford actor with the poet.

1600. Entry at Stationers' Hall: . . . "Two books, the one called Much Ado about Nothing, the other the second part of the History of King Henry the IVth with the humors of

Sir John Falstaff, written by Mr. Shakespeare."

(3)

1604. In the Accounts of the Revels at court in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, for the whole year 1604 and part of 1605, "Shaxberd" appears as the poet "which made the plays" "Measure for Measure," "The Play of Errors," and "A Merchant of Venice." The authenticity of the insertion of this name has been questioned. It is needless to say that, even if the records are true ones, there is nothing to be learned here about the identity of the Stratford actor with the writer of the dramas. (4)

1607. Entry at Stationers' Hall: "A book called Mr. William Shakespeare his history of King Lear as it was played before the King's majesty at Whitehall." . . . (5)

1609. Entry at Stationers' Hall: "Entered . . . a book called Shakespeare's Sonnets." (6)

1609. The Quarto of "Troilus and Cressida" was published this year, with the name William Shakespeare on the title-page and with the following unsigned preface. The caption was "A Never Writer to an Ever Reader." It read:—

"Eternal reader, you have here a new play, never staled with the stage, never clapper-clawed with the palms of the vulgar, and yet passing full of the palm comical; for it is a birth of your brain, that never undertook anything comical vainly; and were but the vain

names of comedies changed for the titles of commodities, or of plays for pleas, you should see all those grand censors, that now style them such vanities, flock to them for the main grace of their gravities; especially this author's comedies, that are so framed to the life that they serve for the most common commentaries of all the actions of our lives, showing such a dexterity and power of wit, that the most displeased with plays are pleased with his comedies. And all such dull and heavy-witted worldlings as were never capable of the wit of a comedy, coming by report of them to his representations, have found that wit there that they never found in themselves, and have parted better witted than they came; feeling an edge of wit set upon them more than ever they dreamed they had brain to grind it on. So much and such favored salt of wit is in his comedies, that they seem (for their height of pleasure) to be born in that sea that brought forth Venus. Amongst all there is none more witty than this: and had I time I would comment upon it, though I know it needs not (for so much as will make you think your testern well bestowed), but for so much worth as even poor I know to be stuffed in it. It deserves such a labor, as well as the best comedy in Terence or Plautus. And believe this, that when he is gone and his comedies out of sale, you will scramble for them, and set up a new English Inquisition. Take this for a warning, and at the peril of your pleasure's loss and

judgments, refuse not, nor like this the less for not being sullied with the smoky breath of the multitude; but thank fortune for the scape it hath made amongst you, since by the grand possessors' wills I believe you should have prayed for them rather than been prayed. And so I leave all such to be prayed for (for the states of their wits' healths) that will not praise it. Vale." (7)

It is not known who wrote this curious preface. Two quartos of "Troilus" were printed this year, both exactly alike, except that one omitted the passage just quoted. Who were the grand possessors has never been satisfactorily answered.

## CHAPTER EIGHT.

### THE FIRST FOLIO.

The year 1492 is memorable in the history of the discovery of continents. Equally important in the history of the discovery of authors is the year 1623, for then was published the identity of the writer of the Shakespeare dramas. Nothing in the records of William Shakespeare of Stratford—I am speaking of the known records—had explicitly connected that actor and provincial business man with the creation or the publication of the splendid poetry. Nothing in the contemporary allusions either to this gentleman or to the playwright had indicated that either the inhabitants of Stratford or of London believed the two men to be the same man. And nothing in the plays or poems themselves afforded a clew. The first Folio (1) supplied the link. That given, by working backwards the task of the biographers has been simple.

Yet the First Folio did not supply absolutely the first link, for the thing had been hinted at some time between 1616 and 1623. Some one—no one knows who—in those years built into the wall of the Stratford church a monument in memory of William Shakespeare. After 1636 this monument,\* representing a thin

\* See frontispiece.

man with a down-drooping mustache, standing with his hands on a cushion, was removed. The man there sculptured resembled the present bust of Shakespeare chiefly in having a bald head with the hair clustered above the ears and in wearing a jerkin with two rows of buttons down the middle and a turndown collar. By whom altered or for what reasons remains in the dark. On this older monument, as on the present one, stood this inscription:—

Judicio Pylum, genio Socratem, arte Maronem  
Terra tegit, populus moeret, Olympus habet.

Stay passenger, why goest thou by so fast?  
Read, if thou canst, whom envious death hath  
placed  
Within this monument: Shakespeare, with whom  
Quick Nature died; whose name doth deck this  
tomb  
Far more than cost, sith all that he hath writ  
Leaves living art but page to serve his wit.

ObiitAno. Doi. 1616. Aetatis 53. Die 23. Ap. (2)

The Latin lines state that Shakespeare was a Nestor in judgment, a Socrates in (philosophical) genius, and in art a Virgil. "The earth hides him, the people mourn him, Olympus has him." Remarks that surely pointed the way, but did not quite declare the fact. Before 1623 a casual tourist, not having a Baedeker, would not know what the world now believes it knows.

But the First Folio gave definitely to the author of the plays a local habitation and a name. In the opening pages of that volume are some poems in memory of Mr. Shakespeare. In one of them L. Digges began:—

Shakespeare, at length thy pious fellows give  
The world thy works,—thy work, by which, outlive  
Thy tomb, thy name must when that stone is rent,  
And time dissolves thy Stratford monument. (1)

In another set of verses Ben Jonson said:—

Sweet Swan of Avon! What a sight it were  
To see thee in our waters yet appear,  
And make those flights upon the banks of Thames  
That so did take Eliza and our James! (1)

In the list of principal actors in these plays Shakespeare's name leads all the rest. Lastly, the dedication and the preface are signed by Hemming and Condell, actors, to each of whom, as to Richard Burbage, Shakespeare of Stratford had bequeathed some money to buy them rings. Hemming and Condell, who, as Malone has practically proved, merely lent their names to what Ben Jonson really wrote, speak here definitely of Shakespeare the author as their friend and fellow-player. Thus an identification of the two Williams was made, and the office of illustrious playwright had sought and found its man.

Besides giving to the world an author, this First Folio published for the first time several plays: "The Tempest," "Two Gentlemen of Verona," "Comedy of Errors," "As You Like



It," "Measure for Measure," "All's Well," "Twelfth Night," "Winter's Tale," "Third Part of Henry VI.," "Henry VIII.," "Timon," "Julius Cæsar," "Macbeth," "Antony and Cleopatra," and "Cymbeline." Although these had never been printed in their present form, many with their titles had been presented on the stage. "The Taming of the Shrew," "Timon," "Julius Cæsar," "Coriolanus," "All's Well," and "Henry VIII." had not only never been printed, but, apparently, had never been heard of at all in their present form. Several plays, as "Richard III.," "Othello," "Hamlet," and "Second Part of Henry VI.," contained revisions and newly written matter, admittedly by Shakespeare. From a legal point of view Lord Penzance (3) has admirably discussed certain other very curious inconsistencies in the First Folio.

To show that no one seems to have acknowledged the authorship of the plays till they were collected and published after the death of Shakespeare has been my task. It will be argued that negative evidence proves nothing; but the keenest mind of the seventeenth century is my authority for quoting: "It is the peculiar and perpetual error of the human intellect to be more moved and excited by affirmatives than by negatives; whereas it ought properly to hold itself indifferently disposed towards both alike. Indeed, in the establishment of any true axiom, the negative instance is the more forcible

of the two." My purpose is not so much to prove or to disprove as to correct the biographies as they stand to-day. A single point further should be added.

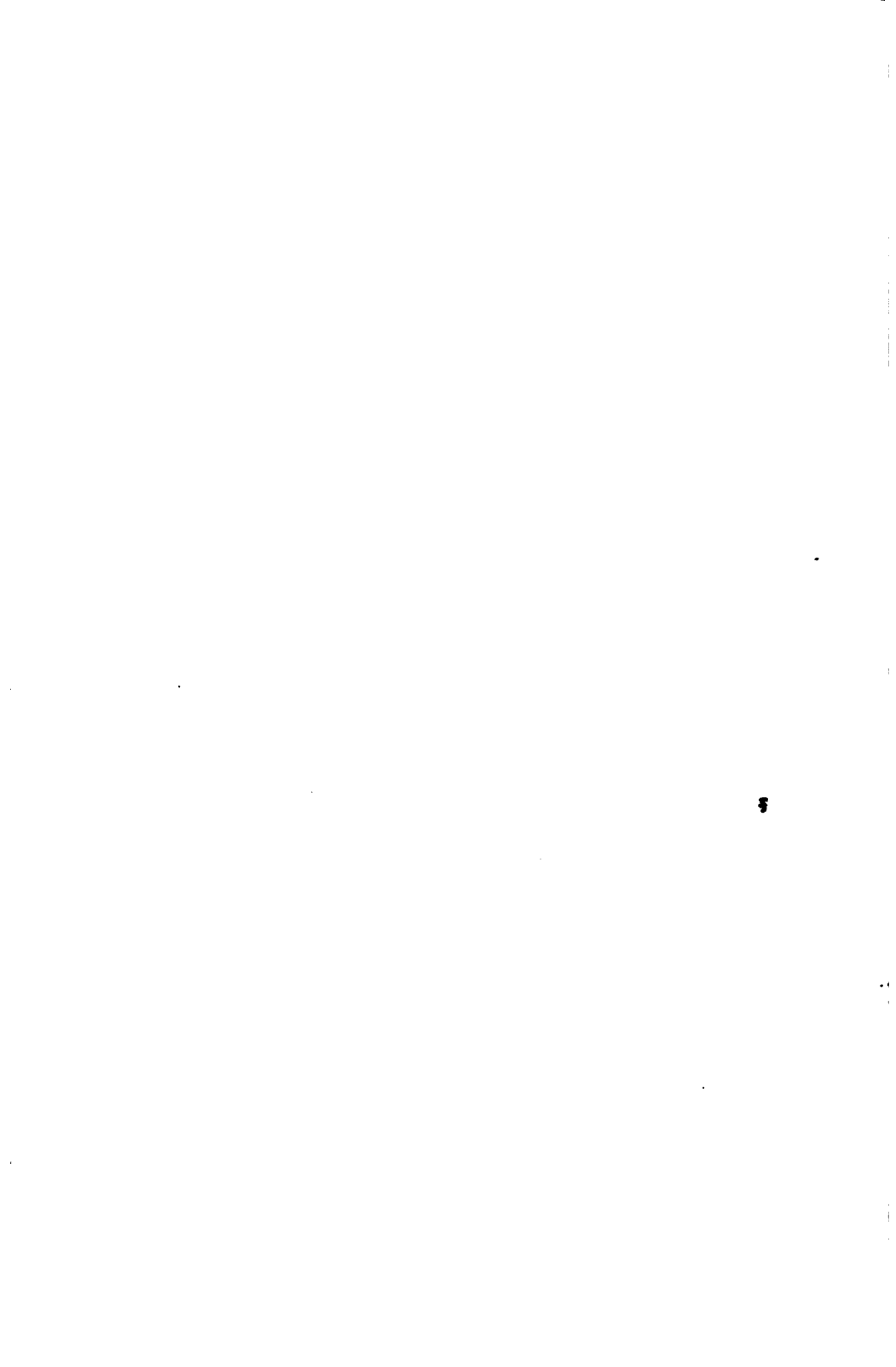
Mr. W. S. Booth has shown (4) that by applying to the first and last pages of the Shakespeare plays as printed in the First Folio, a variant of a commonly used mathematical cipher, one can read repeatedly a hidden acrostic of the name of Francis Bacon. The chief difference between this and the other ciphers which an unwilling world has had to examine from time to time is the fact that it works as its discoverer claims. That these acrostics are the result of human design has not, as this book goes to press, been definitely acknowledged. Mathematical analysis goes to show that intention is manifest and historical warrant is not wholly wanting. At any rate it is a remarkable fact that in the only document identifying William Shakespeare from Stratford with the poet the name of so illustrious a contemporary should be secretly embedded.

## EPILOGUE.

*"And now I have . . . marked the deficiencies. . . . Wherein if I have differed from the ancient and received doctrines, and thereby given a handle to contradiction; for my part, as I am far from wishing to dissent, so I purpose not to contend. If it be truth,*

*Non canimus surdis, respondent omnia silvae:*

*the voice of nature will consent, whether the voice of man do or not. But as Alexander Borgia was wont to say of the expedition of the French to Naples, 'that they came with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, and not with weapons to break in'; so I like better that entry of truth, which comes peaceably as with chalk to mark up those minds which are capable to lodge and harbor such a guest, than that which forces its way with pugnacity and contention."*—From Francis Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Book III., Chapter VI. (Spedding's translation.)



## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

In the following Bibliography the attempt has been made to refer the reader, wherever possible, to easily accessible photographic reproductions or type fac-similes of original documents; and, failing this, to at least two easily accessible books containing the full texts of the documents. In several instances these texts are not available.

These abbreviations have been employed:—

H. P. = "The Outlines of the Life of William Shakespeare," by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps. Longmans, Green, 1908.—Lee Illust. = "A Life of William Shakespeare," by Sidney Lee. Illustrated Library Edition. Smith & Elder, 1899.—Lee = "A Life of William Shakespeare," by Sidney Lee. The Macmillan Company, 1909.—Lambert = "Cartea Shakespeareanae. . . ." Arranged by D. H. Lambert. George Bell & Sons, 1904.—Allusion = "The Shakespeare Allusion-Book: A Collection of Allusions to Shakespeare from 1591 to 1700. . . . Re-edited, revised, and rearranged with an introduction, by John Munro." New York, Duffield & Co., 1909.—G. G. G. = "The Shakespeare Problem Re-stated," by G. G. Greenwood. London, John Lane, 1908.

### CHAPTER ONE.

- (1) H. P., ii. 73 *et seq.*
- (2) H. P., i. 68, fac-simile.
- (3) G. G. G., 24.

### CHAPTER TWO.

- (1) H. P., ii. 215 *et seq.*
- (2) Fac-simile of the second draft (in part), Lambert, 19.
- (3) Fac-simile of the confirmation of the draft (in part), Lambert, 35.

## CHAPTER THREE.

- (1) Lee Illust., 8, fac-simile.
- (2) Lambert, 3.
- (3) H. P., ii. 55. Lambert, 4.
- (4) Lee Illust., 21, fac-simile.
- (5) Lee Illust., 23, fac-simile.
- (6) Lambert, 5. H. P., ii. 14 *et seq.*
- (7) Lambert, 13. H. P., i. 121.
- (8) Lee, 194.
- (9) Lee, 39.
- (10) Lee, 39.
- (11) Lee Illust., 149, fac-simile.
- (12) Lee, x.
- (13) Lee, x.
- (14) H. P., ii. 106-107, fac-simile.
- (15) H. P., i. 137, fac-simile.
- (16) Lambert, 28. Lee, x.
- (17) Lambert, 31.
- (18) Lee, 201.
- (19) H. P., ii. 57. Lambert, 27.
- (20) Lee Illust., 156-157, fac-simile. Also H. P., i. 166, fac-simile.
- (21) H. P., ii. 59. Lambert, 29.
- (22) H. P., ii. 58.
- (23) Lee, xiv.
- (24) Lee, 213.
- (25) Lee, 201.
- (26) H. P., ii. 17. Lambert, 42.
- (27) H. P., ii. 19. Lambert, 44.
- (28) Lambert, 47.
- (29) Lambert, 48.
- (30) Lee, 240.
- (31) H. P., ii. 77.
- (32) H. P., ii. 204.
- (33) Lee, 273.
- (34) H. P., ii. 19. Lambert, 55.
- (35) Lambert, 57.

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## INDEX.

"A Mournful Ditty entitled Elizabeth's Loss" . . . . .	48
Addenbroke, John . . . . .	19
Alleyn . . . . .	15
"Allusion-Book, The Shakespeare" . . . . .	69
Allusions . . . . .	1, 9
Arber, Edward . . . . .	72
Arden, Mary . . . . .	12
Aubrey . . . . .	31
Bacon, Francis . . . . .	iv, 39, 66, 67
Bacon, Matthew . . . . .	22
Barksted, William . . . . .	50
Barnfield, Richard . . . . .	42
Bel-vedere . . . . .	43
Betterton . . . . .	4
Bibliography . . . . .	69-74
Bolton, Edmund . . . . .	50
Booth, W. S. . . . .	66, 73
Bruce, John . . . . .	73
Burbage . . . . .	15, 20, 47
Burgoyne, F. J. . . . .	72
Bushell . . . . .	17
Butts, Joseph . . . . .	7
Camden's "Remains" . . . . .	49, 53
Chettle . . . . .	33-35
Clayton, John . . . . .	18
Clodpate . . . . .	5
Coat-of-arms . . . . .	13
Collins, J. Churton . . . . .	72
Combe, John . . . . .	20, 31
Commendatory verses . . . . .	8
Davies, John . . . . .	52
Davies, Richard . . . . .	4, 6
"De Augmentis Scientiarum" . . . . .	67
Deer park . . . . .	7

Deer-stealing . . . . .	2, 3, 4, 5
"Daiphantus" . . . . .	49
Digges, L. . . . .	64
Dirty Gretton . . . . .	32
Disinfecting Shakespeare . . . . .	3
"Doubtless" . . . . .	1, 5
Drummond, William . . . . .	51
Dugdale, Sir William . . . . .	frontispiece
Egerton, Lord Chancellor . . . . .	22
"Epigrams" by I. C. . . . .	48
"Epigrams in the Oldest Cut and Newest Fashion" . . . .	43
Epitaph at Stratford . . . . .	32
Epsom Wells . . . . .	5
Evidence from the plays and poems . . . . .	57
"Expurgated" . . . . .	10
Fitton, Mary . . . . .	2
Fleay, F. G. . . . .	8, 10
Folio, The First . . . . .	62-66
Freeman, Thomas . . . . .	54
Friswell, J. Hain . . . . .	71
Fulman, William . . . . .	4
"Garden of the Muses, The" . . . . .	43
"Great Instauration, The" . . . . .	iv
Greene, J. . . . .	21
Greene, Robert . . . . .	33
Greene, Thomas . . . . .	20
Greenwood, G. G. . . . .	69
Grosart, A. B. . . . .	73
Hackett, John . . . . .	30
Hall, John . . . . .	19
Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O. . . . .	69
Hathaway, Anne . . . . .	15
Hazlitt, William . . . . .	73
Hemming, John . . . . .	20
Hemming and Condell . . . . .	64
Henslowe . . . . .	9
Hughes, Charles . . . . .	72
"Hypercritica" . . . . .	50

Identity of William Shakespeare . . . . .	10
Jackson, John . . . . .	20
Johnson, William . . . . .	20
Jonson, Ben . . . . .	10, 30, 47, 64
Kempe . . . . .	15, 47
Lambert, D. H. . . . .	69
Lambert, John . . . . .	15
Lee, Sidney . . . . .	8, 14, 69
Lucas, T. . . . .	21
Luces . . . . .	30
"Lucrece, The Rape of" . . . . .	58
Lucy, Sir Thomas . . . . .	4-7, 30
Macray, W. D. . . . .	72
Mannering . . . . .	21
Manningham, John . . . . .	10, 44
Massey, Gerald . . . . .	3, 6
"Mirrha, the Mother of Adonis" . . . . .	50
Mr. W. H. . . . .	2
Mytton . . . . .	17
Negative evidence . . . . .	65
Non canimus surdis, etc. . . . .	67
Northumberland MS. . . . .	10, 38
"Palladis Tamia" . . . . .	41
Penzance, Lord . . . . .	65, 74
Phillips, Augustine . . . . .	19
Plume, Archdeacon . . . . .	30
Poaching . . . . .	2, 3, 4
"Poems in Divers Humors" . . . . .	42
"Polimanteia" . . . . .	36
Province of the biographer . . . . .	11
Quiney, Adrian . . . . .	18
Quiney, Richard . . . . .	16, 17, 18
Rabbits . . . . .	4, 7
"Records" and "allusions" . . . . .	14

Reed, Edwin . . . . .	72
Replyngham . . . . .	21
"Return from Parnassus, The" . . . . .	37, 46
<i>Revue des Deux Mondes</i> . . . . .	3
Rosswell . . . . .	17
Rowe, Nicholas . . . . .	iii, 3, 6, 32
Rowington Muster Roll . . . . .	19
Rutland, Earl of . . . . .	20
Scloker, Anthony . . . . .	73
"Scourge of Folly, The" . . . . .	52
Shake-scene . . . . .	35
Shakespeare, Anna . . . . .	13, 15
Shakespeare, Edmund . . . . .	13, 19
Shakespeare, Gilbert . . . . .	12
Shakespeare, Hamnet . . . . .	15, 16
Shakespeare, Joan . . . . .	12
Shakespeare, John . . . . .	12, 13
coat-of-arms . . . . .	13
Shakespeare, Judith . . . . .	15, 22
Shakespeare, Margaret . . . . .	12
Shakespeare, Mary . . . . .	19
Shakespeare, Richard . . . . .	13
Shakespeare, Susanna . . . . .	15, 19
Shakespeare, William, acts in "Every Man in his Humor,"	16
acts in "Sejanus" . . . . .	18
allusions . . . . .	1, 33
assessed at St. Helen's . . . . .	15
baptized . . . . .	12, 14
burial . . . . .	23
buys arable land . . . . .	18
buys house in Blackfriars . . . . .	20
buys land at Blackfriars . . . . .	20
buys stone . . . . .	16
Chapel Street . . . . .	16
coat-of-arms . . . . .	18
commendatory verses by . . . . .	8
copyhold estate . . . . .	19
cottage in Chapel Lane . . . . .	18, 19
deer-stealing . . . . .	2-5
defaulter on taxes . . . . .	16
enclosing common lands . . . . .	20

Shakespeare, William, epitaph . . . . .	32
estate fined . . . . .	19
First Folio . . . . .	62-66
godfather . . . . .	19
identity . . . . .	10
Kempe and Burbage . . . . .	15
lawsuit . . . . .	20
Lord Chamberlain's company . . . . .	18
marriage license . . . . .	15
New Place . . . . .	16
other Lives of . . . . .	1
owns corn . . . . .	16
papist . . . . .	5
petitions Lord Chancellor . . . . .	22
plants fruit orchard . . . . .	18
poaching . . . . .	2, 3
poems ascribed to . . . . .	29-32
recovers a debt . . . . .	18
spelling of his name . . . . .	1
Stationers' Hall . . . . .	58, 59
Stratford tithes . . . . .	16, 20
sues J. Addenbroke . . . . .	19
sues Philip Rogers . . . . .	19
trained soldier . . . . .	19
walks in a procession . . . . .	18
will . . . . .	22, 23-28
Shallow, Justice . . . . .	6
"Shaxberd" . . . . .	59
Signature, Acrostic . . . . .	66, 73
Snitterfield . . . . .	12
Spedding . . . . .	iv, 67
Southampton, Earl of . . . . .	57, 58
Southwark . . . . .	15
Stationers' Hall Register . . . . .	58, 59
Stow's "Annals" . . . . .	55
Stratford monument . . . . .	62, 63
Sturley, Abraham . . . . .	16, 17
<i>Times</i> , The London . . . . .	71
<i>Times</i> , The New York . . . . .	71
"Troilus and Cressida," Preface . . . . .	59